desire to restore paternalistic relations between whites and blacks. Blacks were expected to depend upon white elites for all of their needs. Many expressed their lack of confidence in white paternalism with their feet, fleeing the city for more hospitable northern communities.[98]

A Tulsa grand jury blamed African Americans for the riot, contending that there was no eminent threat of white violence. Despite receiving most of the blame from the white community, blacks actively pursued restitution, filing five million dollars worth of claims with the city; only one claim was honored. Within two years, more than one hundred suits had been filed stemming from property damage during the riot. Whites attempted to appease blacks on the one hand and steal their property on the other. One hundred thousand dollars was donated to relief rather than reconstruction of Greenwood. Simultaneously, the Tulsa Real Estate Exchange was formed in order to buy the scorched earth of Greenwood, relocate African Americans farther north, and replace black businesses with industrial development. County judges blocked the efforts, and it became clear that African Americans would have to rebuild on their own. In the years that followed the riot, Tulsa became a haven for the Ku Klux Klan, further isolating the city's African American community.[99]

In context, Wilmington's riot can be considered to be the first of its kind—an all-encompassing event that resulted in white invasion of African American neighborhoods, an unknown number of black deaths, property destruction, armed overthrow of a legally elected city government, and the marginalization of black political and economic concerns.[100] Future white-on-black race riots grew in scope, affecting many more African Americans and destroying much more property as whites grew bolder in the face of little opposition or retribution. The post-riot responses of the cities' white leaders reveal local concerns about race relations and, more importantly, progress. Inaction by state and federal governments validated the riots and demonstrated that white supremacy would triumph. White Wilmingtonians tended to search for greater good – peace, good government, safe streets, healthy business climate – served by their riot, whereas Atlantans and Tulsans pursued a policy of compensation that offered outsiders the appearance of peace and understanding between the races.[101]

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[98] Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot*, pg. 117-119; Baker, *Following the Colour Line*, pg. 14.

[99] Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing a Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921: Race Reparations, and Reconciliation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pg. 95-97.

[100] Other attempted governmental overthrows have come to light in the course of this report. Many examples are reflective of the municipal upheaval that was commonplace throughout the South during Reconstruction, particularly during military occupation. However, after the end of Reconstruction and into the twentieth century, there have been points in the histories of many cities where local mob rule forced its hand. Wilmington's event, unlike many others, was completely successful and was not overturned by federal or state forces at any point whereas many of the other coup d'etat attempts failed to have staying power. Events in San Francisco (1856), Athens, Tennessee (1946), Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana (1919), New Orleans (1874), and the Brooks-Baxter War in Arkansas (1874) have been reviewed.

[101] An unapologetic white business community of Wilmington quietly collected funds to "compensate the several negro lodges which owned the *Record* building that was accidentally burned." The men raised $690 and presented the funds to a black representative of the lodges because destruction of the building had not been the intention of the action but, instead, the destruction of the *Record*'s office property. At the same time, the papers lauded another black man who had acquired the destroyed press and had offered to melt it down to create souvenirs for sale. Another article praised the White Laborer's Union and remarked upon a wonderful new